

War in Ukraine and exile

Scientific Workshop – May 24th and 25th 2023

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Titles and abstracts of presentations by participants (in alphabetical order)

Hervé Amiot (UMR Passages, Université Bordeaux-Montaigne)

How does Ukrainian exodus reshape Ukrainian diaspora in France?

The large-scale war unleashed by Russia on February 24, 2022, led to a massive exodus from Ukraine. One year after the beginning of the hostilities, 4.8 million people have received "temporary protection" status in one of the countries of the European Union's, including 119,000 in France. While the first research undertaken on the subject focuses on the trajectories of refugees, the experiences of exile or the question of reception and regulations taken by the authorities at the European, national and local scales, one still knows little about the relations between these refugees and Ukrainian immigrants who were already in Europe before the outbreak of hostilities.

The political, media and scientific focus on the issue of refugees in 2022 makes us forget that many European countries have a long history of migratory flows from territories corresponding to the current Ukraine. France, for example, was a host country for displaced persons from the Russian civil war during the interwar period (Gousseff, 2008), and later for Polish workers (Ponty, 1988), some of whom claimed to be Ukrainian nationals (Menshykova, 2021). At the end of the Second World War, the flow of displaced persons from Western Ukraine gave rise to a Ukrainian diaspora united in anti-Sovietism. Finally, the fall of the Iron Curtain led to significant economic migration from the former Soviet republics to the European Union. At the turn of the 2020s, there were more than 1 million Ukrainians in Poland (Lücke, Saha, 2019), 250,000 in Italy and Germany, and 20,000 in France (United Nations, 2019), without taking into account second- or third-generation Ukrainians. Although post-Soviet immigration is more approached more an economic point of view (Byford, Bronnikova, 2018), recent works have studied the dynamics of politicization, associative participation and humanitarian commitment within Ukrainian immigration in a North American (Nikolko, 2019; Carment et al., 2021) and European context (Lapshyna, 2019; Amiot, 2020). They showed how the 2014 "critical juncture" in Ukraine (Maidan revolution, annexation of Crimea, and the beginning of the Donbass war) led to a significant movement of civic engagement among Ukrainian immigration in two directions: military and humanitarian aid to Ukraine; pro-Ukrainian advocacy in host countries. This commitment led to the creation of social links between different groups of the Ukrainian immigration and, therefore, the reconstitution of a Ukrainian diaspora.

This presentation deals with the consequences the refugee flows triggered by the 2022 war on the structuring of Ukrainian diaspora in France. The questioning is twofold. To what extent do Ukrainian immigrants already living in France (and sometimes already involved in associations) mobilize in the face of the refugee crisis that began on 24 February 2022? In turn, to what extent does the refugee issue reshape relations between Ukrainian immigrants who

arrived before 2022, between Ukrainian immigrants and refugees who arrived after 2022, and between Ukrainians and immigrants of other post-Soviet countries?

The presentation is based on the first results of a survey conducted as part of the research program "CORRIREF - Cities and Ukrainian exile in France" (2023-2025, directed by Thomas Lacroix, funded by ICM). In the frame of this project, I am responsible for the issue of the care of refugees by local associations. The results are put into perspective with those of my doctoral thesis, which focuses on politicization and political engagement among Ukrainian immigrants in France over the period 2014-2021.

Based on the case of three Ukrainian associations created in 2014 in Paris, Lyon and Lille, the paper shows that the care of refugees by the Ukrainian associations, from February 2022 onwards, contributes to a double movement of opening and closing of the Ukrainian diaspora in France. The refugee "crisis" leads to a large movement of opening of the diaspora on the society of the host country. In a moment of strong opening of political opportunity structures, Ukrainian associations cooperate with local authorities, with a large number of French associations and even start recruiting individuals without Ukrainian origin, dynamics that contrast with the period 2014-2021. On the other hand, although Russian and Belarusian nationals are also included in these initiatives, the refugees question contributes to deepening the "nationalization" of post-Soviet immigration that has been going on since 2014 (Amiot, 2023). The constitution of places and moments of specifically Ukrainian sociability, around the practice of the Ukrainian language and national cultural and memorial references, contributes to reinforcing the existence of a specifically Ukrainian social space in France, to including recently arrived refugees in it and to separating it from other post-Soviet social spaces.

Olga Bronnikova (Université Grenoble Alpes)

“Wherever they go, Russians will always find a reason to feel discriminated”^[1]

The presentation attempts to unravel the complexity of the relations between Russians and Georgians in the contemporary Georgian context based on two concrete examples of interactions: (i) the relations between the association in which I carried out my fieldwork and Georgian and international associations and institutions located in Georgia: financing, joint projects, etc.; (ii) the relations between the association's volunteers and Georgian sellers at the market where the volunteers came to buy daily supplies. This paper is based on a three-month ethnographic fieldwork in an association for Ukrainian refugees in Tbilisi. Founded by Russian exiles, it quickly attracted Ukrainian volunteers. The group is mixed today, even if Russians remain predominant.

^[1] Quotation of Olga Bronnikova's informant in Georgia

Dorota Dakowska (Sciences Po Aix)

Fleeing the bombs and under pressure. Ukrainian academics in exile

Over eight million Ukrainians fled their country after the Russian invasion in February 2022, among them academics and, in particular, female scholars. While the war has radically disrupted the day-to-day life and work of millions of Ukrainian citizens, some academics are pursuing their teaching and research activities in exile.

I investigate how the war in Ukraine following the large-scale Russian invasion has affected Ukrainian academics. Based on the case study of academics in exile, mainly in France, the paper emphasises the dilemmas faced by academics as they try to pursue a working relationship with their home HEI while at the same time endeavouring to secure their material situation by applying for funding schemes earmarked for scholars at risk, thereby developing a new working relationship with host HEIs.

On the teaching side, I show that online learning, which became widespread during the Covid-19 pandemic, has enabled academics to continue to fulfil their roles, albeit with difficulties due to the Russian bombing of energy infrastructures and the mobilisation of a significant number of students. As teachers and students are scattered worldwide, Ukrainian HEI has, in this dire context, become de facto transnationalised.

On the research side, the injunction to excellence, formulated in the 2014 law on higher education, has remained crucial. This places further pressure on academics faced with the imperatives of wartime survival. However, for many scholars, pursuing their teaching and research is seen as resistance against the invader.

This paper is based on observations made by the author in France since March 2022 and a dozen interviews conducted with Ukrainian academics in exile. The analysis focuses on the upheaval that the large-scale invasion has had on the lives of scholars. The life stories collected will allow for an analysis of the trajectories of exile. I will analyse how academics try to continue their teaching and research activities in exile while trying to meet their most basic needs (finding accommodation, taking care of their relatives, and supporting their families back home). As the war continues and Ukrainian universities' resources become scarce, securing continuity of teaching and research remains a challenge in the longer term.

Françoise Daucé (EHESS) et Anne Le Huérou (Université de Nanterre)

Accompanying Ukrainian refugees on the road to exile (Russia, Estonia, Latvia)

Since 24 February 2022, while many Ukrainians have fled the war of aggression against their country by crossing the country's western borders, but others passed through the territory of Russia after being transferred to that country following the occupation of territories in the East of the country. This research focuses on the groups of volunteers who work alongside Ukrainian refugees on the road to exile, helping, guiding and advising them on their way out of Russia and into the European Union. At different stages of their journey, groups of volunteers are formed, whether they are Russian volunteer initiatives on Russian territory, Russian volunteers in exile outside Russia or volunteers from host countries (Latvia, Estonia). These volunteers include Russian networks of opponents and activists who were previously more or less structured and who have been converted or reactivated to offer their help to Ukrainians. The networks, operating both "offline" and "online", are particularly active in the first host countries, the Baltic States, mixing Russian-speaking minorities, Russians exiled as the repressions progressed and the local population eager to help the Ukrainians. Latvia and Estonia, as host countries, have seen the development of numerous volunteer initiatives for Ukrainian refugees who have settled in these countries. A range of interactions can thus be seen to form chains of solidarity ranging from the closest to the most distant, from the most institutional to the most prosaic, from the most durable to the most ephemeral, from the most political to the most personal. It is these multiple dynamics that our survey, based on two exploratory fieldwork sites in Estonia (April 2023) and Latvia (October 2022) and on a digital survey - with Russians involved in these initiatives in Russia or from abroad as well as on the observation of social aid networks - proposes to analyse in our presentation.

Agnieszka Fihel (INED, ICMigrations), **Kseniya Homel** (University of Warsaw)

Belarusian and Ukrainian diaspora engagement in France and Poland: between cooperation and competition

The recent years brought about two important refugee inflows into the EU from the Eastern neighbourhood: Belarus and Ukraine. In 2020, as a result of the faked presidential elections, mass repressions and prosecutions of civil activists and participants of peaceful protests many Belarusians were forced to leave the country to continue the protest against authoritarian regime abroad. In 2022, the Russian aggression on Ukraine with indiscriminate attacks on civilian objects, mass killings and tortures of civilians resulted in the mass outflow of war refugees. Belarusian and Ukrainian emigration transformed in the short time into an extensive and efficient network of organizations and less formal groups involved in the humanitarian support, political representation and advocacy provided to emigrants and compatriots left in the home country.

This original and recent research (25 interviews with association leaders conducted in 2022 and early 2023) focused on organized groups of Belarusian and Ukrainian exiled populations in France and Poland (as old and new destinations for emigrants). The results, based on desk research, social media analysis and in-depth interviews with representatives of diaspora organizations in France and Poland show the profile and scope of actions taken by diaspora organizations as a reaction to the Russian aggression on Ukraine. Some differences in the scope of activities can be observed between France and Poland; while organizations in France are more focused on raising public awareness of the host society, organizations in Poland focus more on support provided to the refugees abroad and in Ukraine and, in case of Belarussian diaspora on political activity. The scope of interactions (cooperation and competition) also differs between diaspora organizations of different nationalities.

Catherine Gousseff (CERCEC/CNRS)

“When history is reversed: the reception of Ukrainians in Poland in the light of the past”

The millions of refugees who fled the invasion of Ukraine by the Russian army have revived visions of the immense human flows in Europe at the end of the Second World War. In this period, the displacement of populations was indeed intense, but between Poland and Ukraine, it was aimed at expelling minorities and establishing the new national border of 1945. More than 750,000 Ukrainians were displaced from their homeland in the eastern and southeastern regions of Poland to create a mono-ethnic country. Having become the largest host country for Ukrainians since February 2022, how is Poland coming to terms with this past, which eradicated the Ukrainian presence from the country for nearly half a century?

Ronan Hervouet (CEFRES, Prague / Université de Bordeaux)

The war in Ukraine and the impossible return of Belarusian exiles

The large-scale repression that followed the 2020 uprising forced several hundred thousand Belarusians into exile. From February 2022, the Lukashenko's regime supports Russia in attacking Ukraine. The regime's escalation is accompanied by new repression within the country to destroy any protest. How are the trajectories of Belarusian exiles affected by the war? In this context, the return to the country appears impossible. Transforming the temporality of exile, the war forces to reconfigure the perspectives of life in the host country (schooling, jobs, sociability, etc.) but also the links with the relatives who stayed in the country (long-distance kinship links, meetings outside Belarus, difficulties to cross the borders, help to the relatives who are victims of repressions). The analysis will focus in particular on the material (household budgets, visas) and emotional (guilt, melancholy, feelings of injustice) dimensions of the exile experience.

Pascale Laborier (Université de Nanterre), **Ioan Suhov** (Dublin City University), **Pierre Lecerf** (Université Rennes 2/CEFRES)

A Collective Deep Map Representation Tool to Produce Knowledge on Intellectual Exile

This presentation aims to produce knowledge about so-called qualified migrations through a collective project entitled Géo-récits situated at the intersection of several disciplines, namely anthropology, sociology, political science, history and geography. The qualification of highly qualified migrants is contextual and socially constructed and thus not straightforward to define. Studies in the field of sociology of migration usually insist on the brain drain aspect, and qualified migrants in exile are usually rarely studied, as their skills are often considered as not much adapted to the labour market, or disqualified. The particular characteristics of forced exile on their trajectories after exile are not explored.

Magdalena Lesińska (University of Warsaw), **Marta Jaroszewicz**, (University of Warsaw), **Kseniya Homel** (University of Warsaw)

Belarusian political diaspora after 24.02.2022: between democratisation and stateness

Diaspora originating from an authoritarian country, that limit possibilities of any independent political activity, can play a role of democratic opposition. Existing research points out to the diaspora' positive role in democratic transfers to the countries of origin in the form of ideas, values and political know-how, as well financial transfers that stimulate democratic transition (Burgess 2014, Escriba-Folch et al 2015, Shain 2000).

In response to continuing repressions in Belarus steaming from brutally suppressed demonstrations following August 2020 presidential elections, the Belarusian diaspora took on the role of the opposition, becoming a symbolic representation of the democratically oriented section of the society. As our previous research indicates, Belarusian diaspora has created a government in exile, has effectively engaged with international community and international public opinion informing about human rights violations in Belarus and succeeded in mobilizing Belarusians abroad in the actions of solidarity (Jaroszewicz et. al 2022). Yet, the recent attack by Russia against Ukraine presented the Belarusian diaspora with a new challenge. The priority of its actions became not only the struggle for democratization of its country, but fight for keeping the separate Belarusian stateness non-engaged on the side of Russia in war on Ukraine. Based on our earlier research on the political actions of the Belarusian diaspora and the current research on the diasporas in times of war, the paper will discuss the recent developments in the Belarusian political diaspora engagement: passive resistance, sabotage against Belarusian participation in war on the Russia side, military support on the side of Ukrainian forces, volunteering for Ukrainian refugees. We will discuss to which extent democratisation efforts can be combined with the active struggle for keeping the Belarusian independence.

Andrey Makarychev (University of Tartu)

New Russian Immigrants in Estonia: Between Exile and Opposition

This study looks at the new phenomenon of Russian citizens who escaped Russia shortly prior to the war or after it started. The research is based on media analysis and interviews with Russian war escapees and anti-Putin activists who fled Russia and settled in Estonia. Different forms of their public activity are analyzed within the broader context of changes in Estonian society caused by the Russian invasion in Ukraine. The presentation seeks to investigate new forms of political activism produced by the new Russophone emigration in the context of its self-assertion of a newly acquired agency, from ant-war actions to advocacy campaigns for Russian students' rights. The author discusses public narratives produced by the new Russian emigrants settled in Estonia and circulated through media and social networks. One of the arguments is that the new groups of Russian citizens residing in Estonia, unlike the older

generation of the Russian diaspora, not only externally project Russian domestic agenda of resistance to Putin's regime, but also engage with issues of a broader European security agenda.

Ekaterina Pierson-Lyzhina (Université libre de Bruxelles/ CEFRES, Prague)

Party politics promotion and recognition of the opposition-in-exile. Influence on the alliance-building between Belarusian partisan and non-partisan opposition

The paper aspires to contribute to the literature on opposition alliance-building in exile by exploring the role of EU's "party politics promotion" (Burnell and Gerrits 2010) and EU's "political recognition" of the opposition (Edtmayer 2018, Talmon 2013). It analyses the evolution of the relationship between the Belarusian non-partisan opposition, emerged during 2020 presidential elections, and traditional opposition political parties from 2020 to 2023. It shows that during the 2020 electoral campaign the registered candidate Sviatlana Tsikhanouskaya cooperated closely with the United Civic Party, but that 'consciously did not raise the party flags.' However, since exile and recognition by the West (the EU and the US), Tsikhanouskaya's office and other related structures gradually extended informal contacts to other Belarusian opposition parties. The article explains these changes by applying the 'resource mobilization' approach of (trans)national social movements. It argues that the interest on the part of the parties towards non-partisan opposition associated with Tsikhanouskaya increased following the latter's exile and recognition by the West as the "legitimate representative of a people." It also argues that the non-partisan opposition responded favourably by co-opting some parties via individual members, interested in their partisan international contacts and to enhance its "legitimate representative" resource. The study is grounded in the political sociology of IR. It uses in-depth interviews with the members of the opposition-in-exile and prominent members of the Belarusian opposition political parties, conducted by the author in 2022-23 in Vilnius, Warsaw, and Brussels in the framework of the BIELEXIL project carried by CEFRES, Prague.

Perrine Poupin (AAU/CNRS)

Poland's Solidarity movement with Ukraine. Findings from a Field Trip in Gdansk in November 2022

In November 2022, I carried out a ten-day fieldwork in Gdansk to study the Ukrainian refugee movement there, the initiatives to collect and organise convoys of funds, basic necessities, medical supplies and equipment (drones, helmets, etc.) to Ukraine. I accompanied volunteers in different activities involving refugees. In addition, I was able to follow Ukrainian-Polish cultural cooperation at a local level: cultural actors in Gdansk, which is known as a liberal and social city with a tradition of welcoming and integrating immigrants, organise many events to present Ukrainian culture and discuss societal issues that are affecting Ukrainian society. I was also able to understand the role of different diasporas of longer or shorter duration (Ukrainian, Chechen, Belarusian, etc.) in these aid processes, in a city which, even though it is located far from the border with Ukraine, receives many refugees (Gdansk is the 2nd largest city in Poland in terms of percentage increase in population due to the arrival of Ukrainian refugees since February 2022). I carried out ethnographic observations of volunteer initiatives (collection and distribution points, waste pickups in parks, camouflage net making workshops for the Ukrainian army, etc.) and conducted seven long filmed interviews with Polish and Ukrainian volunteers and cultural actors. I conducted this fieldwork with Volodymyr Kuznetsov, a Ukrainian artist who had been invited to create a mural at the Gdańsk Miasto LiteratURY, a former Soviet and then Russian cultural centre that was transformed in March, as a reaction to Russia's invasion of Ukraine, into a centre for the promotion of free and critical thought.

Tatyana Shukan (Université libre de Bruxelles/ CEFRES, Prague)

(Re)living the exile: Belarusian exiles in the face of the war in Ukraine

This presentation explores the trajectories and experiences of Belarusian exiles who left their country to escape, urgently or in anticipation, the repression of the 2020-2021 protest movement. It is based on fieldwork conducted in October - November 2022 in Warsaw and Vilnius and, more specifically, on testimonies collected from people who experienced a double displacement: from Belarus to Ukraine and then from Ukraine to Poland or to Lithuania.

The analysis will first focus on the experience of exile: daily difficulties (administrative, emotional, etc.) encountered by exiled Belarusians, solidarity networks helping to deal with those difficulties, as well as on individual strategies of self-reconstruction and (even relative) integration in the host communities. The presentation will also discuss to what extent the exile leads (or not) to a rupture with their home country and original social environment. Finally, it will examine how Russian military aggression against Ukraine influences the trajectories and experiences of exiled Belarusians by analyzing the changes in perspectives, self-perception and perception of others that the war has produced among them (linguistic practices, strategies of distinction from the Belarusian regime, attitude towards Russia, involvement in different forms of solidarity).

Bella Ostromoukhova (Sorbonne Université), **Timur Atnashev** (Lauréat du programme Pause / Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès), **Anna Zaytseva** (Université Toulouse Jean Jaurès)

Russian wartime emigration: places and milieus of an archipelago?

The presentation focuses on the uses and representations of different urban places and milieus in exile, based on interviews and observations collected mainly in Tbilisi, within the framework of the Rus-Op project ("Russian citizens facing the war in Ukraine: dynamics of commitments, identities and emotions", financed by the FMSH, the CNRS and the IHEMI), with Russian emigrants after 24 February 2022.

These places are of different types and natures: from co-livings with compatriots met in the host country, to punk-hardcore clubs, bookstores-bars or "illustrator' breakfasts" consolidating pre-existing subcultural or professional milieus reconstituted on the spot "identically", to associative places of aid to Ukrainian refugees generating unprecedented (and unimaginable in the country of departure) links between milieus and generations. By studying their socializing effects and the personal attachment they generate ("supportive environments", "meeting with fellow human beings", etc.), we will also question their (lack of) inclusion in the social tissue of the host country and their way of functioning as an archipelago of islands, well connected to each other but relatively isolated from the outside environment.

The Tbilisi fieldwork will be put into perspective with those conducted in Israel, Armenia and Cyprus. We can question the specificity of the Tbilisi case and try to take into account the influence of the local/national socio-political context on the evolution of the archipelago of exiles.

Biographies of participants (in alphabetical order)

Hervé Amiot is currently finishing his PhD in geography at University Bordeaux-Montaigne (UMR Passages). His PhD thesis focuses on politicization and political engagement among Ukrainian immigrants in France over the period 2014-2021, that is from the Euromaidan to the eve of 2022 full-scale war. He is also teaching assistant (ATER) in Geography at ENS de Lyon. Since February 2023, he is part of the research program "CORRIREF - Cities and Ukrainian exile in France" (2023-2025, directed by Thomas Lacroix, funded by ICM). His research is in the field of political and social geography and deals with migration, transnationalism, diaspora politics, social movements, memory politics.

Timur Atnashev holds a PhD in history and civilization (EUI, Florence) and is currently integrating the laboratory FRAMESPA at the University of Toulouse, with the support of the programme PAUSE. He specializes in Russian intellectual history, especially on the public debates during perestroika and early 1990s, as well as the theories of public sphere and publicity. Before the war he launched a series of interviews with the leading political philosophers and specialists in the field - published in the independent online review Republic (<https://republic.ru/tags/1170>), now labeled "foreign agent" and blocked by the Russian authorities. Along with several exiled Russian scholars he is co-hosting the interdisciplinary PHILAPS seminar. For the last five years he was teaching at Shaninka (МБСІІІН) school and RANEPА and co-hosting the Shaninka seminar on intellectual history. After the beginning of the war, he lived in France, Cyprus, Armenia and Germany which was one of the motives for participation in the RUS-OP project.

Olga Bronnikova is an Associate Professor at the University of Grenoble Alpes, and a member of the ILCEA4. Since her PhD, which focused on the political mobilization of migrants in France and the United Kingdom, she has been working on post-Soviet Russian migration. As a member of the ANR RESISTIC project, she was able to study the exile of Russian and Belarusian public space professionals in the EU. Since the beginning of the war in Ukraine, she is a member of various collective research projects in France such as 'Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian exiles after the invasion of Ukraine. Politicizations, interactions, solidarities and tensions' (EXILEST); 'Russian citizens facing the war in Ukraine: Dynamics of commitments, identities and emotions' (RUS-OP) and 'Reception of Ukrainian refugees in Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes. Ruptures and continuities in territorial mobilizations and the politics of asylum' (UK AURA). Within the framework of these projects, she focuses more specifically on collectives supporting of Ukrainian refugees in Tbilisi (Georgia) and Grenoble and Lyon (France).

Dorota Dakowska is Professor of Political Science at Sciences Po Aix, a member of Mesopolhis, and an Honorary Fellow of the Institut Universitaire de France. Her research is concerned with democratisation and the authoritarian backlash in Central and Eastern Europe. In recent years she has carried out a research project on the involvement of the EU and international organisations in higher education reforms in France, Poland, and Ukraine. Since 2022, Dorota Dakowska has analysed the consequences of the war in Ukraine, particularly in terms of exile. Her most recent publications include: "Staying Alive: How International Organisations Struggle to Remain Relevant Policy Players" published in 2022 in the *Journal of International Relations and Development* and "Eppur si muove. Circulation transnationale des réformes de l'enseignement supérieur entre organisations internationales et espaces nationaux" published in 2022 in *Revue internationale de politique comparée*. Among her research interests democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe, dealing with the communist

past, international organisations, higher Education reforms in Poland and Ukraine, authoritarianism, and exile in the context of the Russian war in Ukraine.

Françoise Daucé is Professor at the School for Advanced Studies in the Social Sciences (EHESS) and director of the Center for Russian, Caucasian and East-European Studies (CERCEC). A political sociologist, her research focuses on the sociology of authoritarianism in liberalised societies. She studied the regulation of civil society in V. Putin's Russia (*Une paradoxale oppression. Le pouvoir et les associations en Russie*. CNRS Editions, 2013) and new militant practices in a repressive political context (*Etre opposant dans la Russie de Vladimir Poutine*. Le bord de l'eau, 2016). She has coordinated the ANR ResistTIC project "Net Resisters. Control and circumvention of digital borders in Russia" (2018-2022). She has published several articles in *Réseaux*, *Laboratorium*, *Le Mouvement social*, *Digital Icons*, *First Monday*. She is also the author of *La Russie postsoviétique* (La Découverte, 2nd edition, 2019).

Agnieszka Fihel is a demographer and researcher at the Institut national d'études démographiques (Ined) and ICMigrations. She has been a visiting researcher at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research and the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics. Her research focuses on the demographic systems of Central and Eastern European countries and their differences from the Western part of the continent. She has conducted several research projects, both as collaborator and principal investigator, on the late health transition in post-communist countries, intense emigration in conditions of low demographic dynamics, and the process of regional depopulation due to emigration and low return migration. Her most recent interests relate to new immigration to Central Europe.

Catherine Gousseff is a French historian, senior researcher at the Center for Russian and East-European Studies of the French Academy of Sciences (Centre National de la recherche scientifique, CNRS) and fellow of the Institut Convergences Migrations. As an historian specialized on the twentieth Soviet and East-European century, she approaches the social and political history of this space through the focus of migrations. She is notably the author of *L'exil russe. La fabrique du réfugié apatride*, Paris CNRS-Éditions 2008 (2023) and of *Échanger les peuples. Le déplacement des minorités aux confins polono-soviétique, 1944-1947*, Paris, Fayard, 2015.

Ronan Hervouet is Professor of sociology at the University of Bordeaux and a member of the Centre Émile Durkheim. He is currently a member of CEFRES (French Research Center in Humanities and Social Sciences) in Prague (2021-2023). Adopting an ethnographic approach, he has published two books on everyday politics in contemporary Belarus: *Datcha blues. Existences ordinaires et dictature en Biélorussie* (Paris, Belin, 2009), and *Le goût des tyrans. Une ethnographie politique du quotidien en Biélorussie* (Lormont, Le Bord de l'eau, 2020) – translated into English as *A Taste for Oppression. A Political Ethnography of Everyday Life in Belarus* (Oxford and New York, Berghahn Books, 2021). He is currently working on the experiences of Belarusian exiles who left the country after the large-scale repression following the unrest of 2020. He has recently published *La Révolution suspendue. Les Bélarusses contre l'État autoritaire* (Éditions Plein Jour, 2023).

Kseniya Homel is currently a PhD student at the Institute of Applied Social Sciences at the University of Warsaw, a research assistant at the Faculty of Applied Social Sciences and Resocialization at the University of Warsaw and a research assistant at the Centre of Migration Research. Her research interests include issues of migrant self-organisation and agency manifested in formal organisations and informal social initiatives and the mechanisms of support networks in areas without systemic solutions from the state and mainstream society. Kseniya conducted several research projects concerning integration and migration policy;

attitudes towards refugees and migrants in Poland; and social activity of migrants and refugees in Poland in cooperation with think tanks and social organisations.

Marta Jaroszewicz is an assistant professor at the Centre of Migration Research, University of Warsaw, head of Migration Policies unit. Principal investigator in two projects studying migration in Eastern and Central Europe. Her main areas of expertise include Eastern European studies, migration, critical security studies, diaspora studies. She is particularly interested in the political mobilization of Ukrainian and Belarusian diasporas. From 2006 to 2019 she was a Senior Research Fellow at the Centre for Eastern Studies. She also worked for the International Organization for Migration as a program manager (2008–2010) and DG NEA Rof the European Commission as a policy officer (2016–2017).

Pascale Laborier is full professor of political science, at the University of Paris-Nanterre and ISP-CNRS since 2011 and Fellow of the French Convergences Institute on Migration (ICM). She directed the University Center for Administrative and Political Studies (2000-2005) and the French-German Center for the Humanities and Social Research Marc Bloch in Berlin, Germany (2005-2011). Her published works deal with methodology, administration, and public policies in Germany. Since 2018, she has conducted historical and compared research on academic exile, in particular on Uruguay during the dictatorship. She has successfully led several funded research projects – currently on exile deep mapping “Géo-récits” ([link](#)); and, a research-arts project about the representation of forced scientific exile. She is the curator of the exhibition Standing for freedom traveling in Europe in 2020-2024 and she edited in 2021 a special issue of *Hommes & Migrations* (Musée National de l’histoire de l’immigration).

Pierre Lecerf is a Master student in History of International Relations at Université Rennes 2. He is working on the Italian 1970’s, through the “displaced gaze” of activists who participated in left-oriented political movements of the 1970’s in Italy and went into exile in Paris during the early 1980’s to avoid prosecutions and imprisonment. He is also an intern at the CEFRES, which led him to participate in Ronan Hervouet’s contribution to the Géo-Récits project.

Anne Le Huérou is assistant professor in contemporary Russian and Post-soviet studies, at Université Paris Nanterre, France. Research affiliate at the Institut des Sciences Sociales du Politique, and associate to the CERCEC (EHESS/CNRS). Her current research direction are civil society mobilization and resort to law the mobilization of civil society in response to police violence and war memories of former combatants of post-Soviet conflicts and their impact on post-war situation. She has co-edited the book (together with Aude Merlin, Amandine Regamey and E. Sieca Kozłowski) *Chechnya at war and beyond in 2015*. She has coedited with Silvia Serrano the issue of *Revue d’Etudes comparatives Est-Ouest*, vol.1, n°1, 2021, in which they co-authored « L’État malgré eux. Trajectoires d’anciens combattants géorgiens d’Abkhazie et fabrique de l’État », p. 23-61.

Magdalena Lesińska is political scientist, Assistant Professor and Deputy Director in Centre of Migration Research at University of Warsaw (CMR UW), Head of Postgraduate Studies “Contemporary International Migration Processes”. Her areas of expertise are diaspora and migration policy in Poland and CEE countries, political and public participation of diaspora members in transnational space, including external voting.

Andrey Makarychev is Professor of Regional Political Studies at the University of Tartu Johan Skytte Institute of Political Studies. He teaches courses on "Globalization", "Political Systems in post-Soviet Space", "EU-Russia Relations", "Regional Integration in post-Soviet Space", "Visual Politics", and “The Essentials of Biopolitics”. He is the author of *Popular Biopolitics and Populism at Europe’s Eastern Margins* (Brill, 2022), and co-authored three monographs: *Celebrating Borderlands in a Wider Europe: Nations and Identities in Ukraine*,

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Ekaterina Pierson-Lyzhina obtained a PhD in political and social sciences from the Université libre de Bruxelles (ULB). She is currently an associated researcher at Repi and Cevipol at the ULB and CEFRES, Prague. She is also a substitute professor and a substitute teaching assistant at ULB. Among her interests are internationally active non-state actors, Belarusian foreign policy, non-democratic regimes, and Eastern Partnership countries. In 2022-23, she is part of a group of researchers on Belarusian exile in Central and Eastern Europe "BIELEXIL - Les exilés biélorusses en Europe centrale et orientale" carried by CEFRES, Prague and financed by Institut Convergences Migrations, France.

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Ioan Suhov is a PhD student working on the topic of authoritarian regime legitimation and media communication strategies in Eastern Europe in a project coordinated by Dr Tanya Lokot and Dr Alexander Baturo. In 2022, Ioan defended a master's dissertation at the University of Paris 8 focused on the broadcasting, by the French media, of the Romanian anti-communist revolution of 1989. Ioan has also earned a master's degree from the University of Leeds and, at present, is also working on the GéoRécits project funded by the Institut Convergences Migrations and the CNRS. In this research, Ioan focuses on media representations and international mobilities. He also runs a blog (FuturEast) and has previously worked inside and outside academia.

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Michèle Baussant is an anthropologist, research director at the Institute of Social Sciences of Politics (ISS), and at the Institute Convergence Migrations (ICM). Currently a member of the French Research Center in Humanities and Social Sciences from Prague (CEFRES), she coordinated together with Johana Wyss the TANDEM project “Europe: a Resentful Confederation of Vanquished Peoples? Raw and Lapsed Memories of Post-Imperial (European) Minorities”. Crossing an anthropological perspective with other disciplinary approaches (history, political sociology, geography, digital humanities), her main research topics are the role of memory for the migrants coming from the Islamic countries during the formation of the European colonial empires in the 19th and 20th centuries and at the present time. She recently published (with Michèle, Miccoli Dario and Schely-Newman Esther) the Special Issue “Israel: a diaspora of memories”, (*Quest*, n°16, 2020) and “De quels exils sont faites les mémoires ?” (in Sarah Gensburger, Sandrine Lefranc (eds.), *La mémoire collective en question(s)*, Paris, PUF, 2023).

Mateusz Chmurski is since September 2022 the director of the French Research Center in Humanities and Social Sciences in Prague (CEFRES). Associate Professor of Polish and Central-European Literatures at Faculté des Lettres, Sorbonne Université and Codirector of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Central Europe (CIRCE). He graduated in Polish Literature, Art History and Slavonic studies at the Universities of Warsaw and Paris-Sorbonne. His recent publications include the monograph *Journal, fiction et identité(s). Modernités littéraires d'Europe centrale (1880-1920) à travers les oeuvres de Géza Csáth, Karol Irzykowski et Ladislav Klíma* (Paris 2018, Polish ed. in print).

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Daniela Kolenovská teaches on Russian and Soviet history and its Russian philosophical interpretation at the Department of Russian and East European Studies at the Institute of International Studies of Charles University's Faculty of Social Sciences. She specializes in Stalinism and within this context focuses on research into Belarusian anti-Soviet emigration. Her interests also include Moscow's foreign policy with a focus on its impact on Czechoslovakia and its relationship with the Global South, in particular China. She has published a number of studies on these themes in Czech, English and Russian. She has co-written the books *The Birth of a Superpower. The Soviet Union 1917–1945* (with M. Reiman, B. Litera and K. Svoboda, in Czech, 2013); *Belarusian Émigrés in Interwar Czechoslovakia* (with M. Plavec, in Czech, 2017) and *Travelling to Utopia. Soviet Russia in the Testimonies of Interwar Czechoslovak Intellectuals* (with K. Šimová and M. Drápala, in Czech, 2017).

Alena Marková focuses on contemporary history of Central and Eastern Europe, especially the history of the USSR and its successor states at the Faculty of Humanities of the Charles University. Dr Marková is the associate editor of *The Journal of Belarusian Studies* (BRILL), and the principal investigator of numerous educational and research projects. Dr Marková is an expert of the Horizon Europe Programme Committee (Culture, Creativity and Inclusive Society configuration) of the Research and Innovation Department of the European Commission. Her latest publication is "The Path to a Soviet Nation. The Policy of Belarusization" (Brill Schöningh, 2021), "A History of Belarus" (co-author) (NLN, 2021).

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